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114 121 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 122 [124] (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aġuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanṛaset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following centres of [12] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalağ. My investigations concentrated upon economics [126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanṛaset for Algiers by plane via Ġanet (Djanet), Ṛat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ġanet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanṛaset. At Ġanet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Élézi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Uraṛen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very [126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aġuh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Ṛezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Ṛela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet – [12] apart from Tamanṛaset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made [126] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanṛaset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

déynen, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanferit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Ifoqas* (Ayr Tuareg), of *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

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114 the Tuareg of Ahaggar who were also visited by other scientists and explorers. The most important work on these Tuareg is the great dictionary edited by Foucauld, who lived several years in Ahaggar until his death in 1916. Later works are those of Lhote and Blanguernon. From the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer literature is scarce, but recently good studies on them have been published by Dubief, who has also contributed to our knowledge of the Ahaggar Tuareg. From Ayr we have one early book by Jean, who is often unreliable, while the later book by Rodd contains much valuable material. More recently our knowledge of the Ayr Tuareg has also been extended by the studies of Lhote and Nicolas. The latter author has published a good survey of the tribes and groups inhabiting Ayr and adjacent regions, but Nicolas' most important studies deal with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* around Tawa. Our knowledge of the south-western Tuareg along the Niger and around Timbuktu (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and the *Kel Tademaket*) is unfortunately very sparse. There are only two books to be mentioned, namely those of Aymard and Richer. As to the Tuareg north of the Niger in the mountains of Adraɾ-n-Foras, they have been described by Cortier, and there is no other important work about them.

Very recently our knowledge of the Tuareg has also been increased by important works dealing more generally with the Tuareg or with particular aspects of their culture, e.g., the works of Lhote, Gabus, and Briggs. But none of these authors has tried to describe in detail Tuareg social organization. Nobody but Miner, who writes mainly on culture and social life of Timbuktu, has published a Tuareg kinship system. This system, which is taken down among the *Bella* who are the former slaves of the Niger Tuareg, does not seem to be entirely correct in the sense that it does not indicate the true classificatory terms. I may add that I have myself published one Tuareg kinship system incorrectly, namely that of the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 102). This will be correctly re-published in this book.

Tuareg literature is largely superficial, but there are a few good studies. In some of them you will find information also given in this study. When I mention observations which have also been made by earlier authorities, I do not refer to them in case they may be said to be generally known and made by several authors. Many of the works which I mention in my bibliography are of extremely little value. However, I wish to describe cultural features in detail, and a few interesting notes may be found even in more popular travelling books which are also sometimes furnished with good photographs.

126 Almost all photographs published in this book are of my own taking or represent objects collected by myself among the Tuareg. Where other pictures are used reference to authorities is given.

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younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, azefres*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.